

304
171 around Lake Victoria, among the Bassuwi, Basindja, Baha, Wassumbwa, etc. -- while, according to H. Rehse, the Basiba [Haya] do not tattoo themselves -- so it is much more likely to assume diffusion from the Bantu and Nilotes to the Batussi and a further development of tattooing by the latter. The tattoos of the Somali, Galla, Massai [Masai], etc., look quite different. A report by H. H. Johnston gives some indication of the wider context. According to him, the crescent-shaped scar tattoo, of which he gives a photograph (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 569), is also found among the Bakonjo [Konjo], who are probably the oldest Bantu race [30] in Unjoro, Toro, and Ankole, while the large mass of the Banjoro [Nyoro] in Unjoro, who are an important mixed race consisting of Bantu, Nilotic, and Bahima elements, do not tattoo themselves.

304 In Urundi I did not observe any tattooing on women and children. It was impossible to find out anything definite about the meaning of the patterns. I would doubt that they are intended to represent horns of cattle, as has been claimed by a missionary.

"Decorative disfigurements" of the ears (ear blocks), nose (nose pegs), the lips (pelele), the teeth (notches or filing), or other parts of the body are found in Urundi neither among the Batussi nor among the Bahutu, and this is also true of Ruanda. The Batwa, however, sharpen the two upper incisors. Also, neither cutting of the genitalia among either sex, deformation of the head, nor other such things are practiced. It is not until one descends to the west, east, or south from the interlacustrine plateau that one once more finds tribes with disfigurements of the body.

[287] Urundi is still the country of clothing made from barkcloth (impusu). Except for the peripheral areas in the southeast, south, 439 and west where foreign trade, to which the rest of the country 177 has been barred until recently, supplies cotton material, a piece of "Amerikani" or a cotton blanket used for clothing is still a rarity in Urundi. It was not until recently that more cotton material was introduced into the country by the few licensed traveling merchants, the missions, and the passing caravans

- 439 of officials and military men. The natives eagerly snatch it up.
177 Yet at the time of King Kisabo the chiefs strictly banned the wearing of cotton material for they suspected quite rightly that, together with the foreign merchants and goods, other influences would soon be introduced which might undermine their sovereignty.

29/ Apart from the bark material which predominates, goat skins (ikikoba, urusato) are also worn as loincloths, with the fur side inward; they are the only clothing for children, poor people, and mostly for the Batwa also (Plate 7). In northeastern Urundi, in the Bugufi district, hide cloaks are worn more often than those made from bark (No. 8, p. 61). All over Urundi the [854] women, in addition to the loincloth of hide or bark material, around the upper part of the body wear a quadrilateral piece of hide or bark material, tied in a knot at the shoulder; it is used to carry the youngest child on the back. The men wear a larger, toga-like garment, held up by a knot at the shoulders and falling down over the knees. The knots at the shoulders are often decorated with a few large tassels of dry banana bast which look like gigantic major's epaulets (Plate 11a, 14a).

287 Barkcloth (impusu) -- Stuhlmann calls it "bast felt" (No. 32a, p. 35) -- has an advantage over hide and cotton materials 386 in that it is very light, warm, and permeable, but its production requires work, and since it frays out after longer wear, it soon becomes full of holes and frayed and looks very shabby (Plates 9, 13a). Add to this the usually very dismal, dark gray color. By nature it is brown. In a very few cases it is dyed red with laterite or plant juices (for mourning), or it is decorated with [531] black designs shaped like spindles, leaves, or circles against its natural reddish-brown background. Usually it is dyed a dark gray with wood ashes, argillite, or mud from the swamps, and then it is a deplorable sight. When a large number of people dressed in this manner happen to stand together in a crowd, the many black-clothed figures, [31] combined with the smooth-shaven skulls and flashing spears which are carried by everyone, form a very impressive total picture of great somberness. We again find this simple method of dyeing in Unjoro, the most northerly area to which the Bahima extend; Vandeleur writes

411 to three meters long, absolutely straight generally, and as well-rounded and smoothly scraped as though polished. Considering the extreme rarity of trees and large bushes in Urundi, the quality of the spear shafts is surprising. No pole-timber for the spears is imported from the neighboring areas. Many spear shafts are family heirlooms which have been bequeathed down to the present day from a time when wood was more plentiful. Others are made from the wood of the cultivated fig tree which yields barkcloth; it grows good straight branches unless it is cut often. Poorer people and children generally have spears with inferior, somewhat bent or knotty shafts. Spear [326] points and sockets are made by special blacksmiths (see p. 77) [316] either from iron mined in Urundi itself or from iron hoes (see [439] p. 83) imported from the Congo (Uvira) or from Usindja. The rest of the work necessary to make a spear is done by each Murundi himself. [Fig. 8 appears here in original text.]

The spear is mainly a weapon used for stabbing or for defense. It is thrown only short distances when one is certain of hitting the target since one cannot risk losing this valuable possession. There are no slings for hurling spears.

516 The Murundi is inseparable from his spear, and the fact that they are always able to lean on the long spear shaft determines the characteristic posture of both the Murundi and the Munjaruanda when they are standing still. He grips the upright shaft with his arm half-raised so that his hand is about the level of his face. Depending on whether the palm of the hand is turned in or out when clutching the spear, the shaft stands vertically either between chest and elbow or along the outside of the elbow, while its end rests on the ground. In both cases the body leans with all its weight against this prop which slants somewhat away from it; at the same time the leg bearing the main weight of the body is fully extended while the leg next to the spear which takes no weight is easily crossed over the other leg at knee-level so that it touches the ground only with the outer edge of the sole (Plate 9b). [34] Less frequently the foot of the leg taking no weight is planted firmly against the leg bearing the main weight, as is done frequently among the Negroes of the Upper Nile and also among the Massai. The composition of lines

[Text continues on page 49]

231 flies out with its queen, it is sprinkled with dust and water so it will not fly afield or will drop to the ground. The swarm of bees with ~~its~~ queen is then carefully swept into the tubes which are brought to it, the opening is closed, and the hive is suspended from a tree or a pole. The small entrance hole to the hive is then opened. All hives are suspended in a horizontal position. Of course, the whole procedure is usually not over before a few bee stings have been received, but the "bee-keepers" know quite well how to protect themselves by covering the whole body with barkcloth.

Gathering honey from the beehives later is a much simpler procedure. At night, when the bees are not flying, the back of the hive is opened, and a glowing wisp of straw which is smoking strongly is introduced, causing the bees to crowd together in the opposite corner. The honeycombs are cut out and then preserved in a pot (No. 19, p. 3). There are many different uses for the wax in the Barundi household. Since a demand for it has developed in the markets, bee keeping has noticeably increased in the border regions accessible to trade. Undoubtedly it can and will find an even greater expansion once the country has been opened up to trade and there are more possibilities for marketing it. Even today wax and cattle hides are the most important trade products of Urundi.

2. Stock Farming

231 We often read that the economic life of the Barundi centers
563 around stock farming. This is not correct. The Barundi are, first of all, agriculturists, like all Bantu Negroes, but stock farming is the chief occupation of the Hamitic ruling class, the Batussi, and it is only through their influence and in their service that many Bahutu are occupied in keeping and caring for livestock. By "livestock" we mean large domesticated animals, cattle (inka), for the Batussi hardly occupy themselves with smaller animals, goats and sheep. These latter animals had long been an element in the economy of the Bantu Negroes, that is, the Bahutu in this case, before the Batussi entered the country, and even today they are kept mainly by the Bahutu for their own consumption.

272 jugular vein from a short distance, whereupon the blood spurts out swiftly. The arrow falls off immediately, and the blood is then caught in an earthenware pot. After two to four liters have been collected, the wound closes by itself. Part of the 262 warm blood is immediately drunk; the remaining larger part is boiled on the fire until it becomes solid, as in our black pudding. Then salt, beans, peas, and other ingredients are added, and the tasty meal (ikiremve) is eaten greedily (No. 19, p. 424).

Obviously, beef (injama) is eaten much more rarely. Since cattle are not regarded as food but as capital, there is beef to eat only when an animal has fallen or if it is killed for a sacrifice (cf. p. 136). Only the chiefs can indulge in the luxury of killing an animal for food from time to time. In this case almost always old steers or sterile cows are chosen. Cows that give milk or [46] breeding animals are never killed. The same is true for all Bahima people from Ankole (No. 26, p. 146) to Ufipa. The Bahutu, especially those on Lake Tanganyika, sometimes eat mutton and goat meat, although rarely; the Batwa also eat antelopes, gazelles, francolins, guinea fowl, ducks, etc., but neither they nor the Batussi or Bahutu will eat chicken (No. 19, p. 396). Beef is either eaten 252 raw, still warm if possible, or it is pierced with a wooden spit and roasted over the fire. It is cooked only very rarely. Europeans, who are accustomed to eating meat, are able to buy 439 only sterile cows or defective steers when traveling through 431 Urundi and Ruanda. Sometimes they receive them as a gift from the host. Even then the rules of custom require that the host or the person who sold the animal receives in return a hind leg, the skin, and horns: the leg for food, the horns as a cult object for the hut, and the skin as a bed cover or for making clothes -- especially for women and Batwa -- or to be sold to the trader.

439 According to all experience it is impossible to export live cattle in great numbers because they soon perish after leaving the highlands as a result of the change of fodder, the tsetse fly, and other infections which unfortunately are prevalent in East Africa. At present quite a large number of dried cattle hides

439 from Urundi and Ruanda are sold in Usumbura and Bukoba for export since there is a heavy demand for them. The hides are almost without exception from animals that died, either useless steers or sterile cows, which for this reason are now killed in much greater numbers than before. Since for reasons mentioned above other cattle are seldom slaughtered, the export of hides will remain quite restricted in the future.

272 One of the "superstitious" customs connected with cattle
825 farming whose practical basis and meaning cannot be discovered any more is that the Murundi may never heat or even boil milk. If he did so, the cow from whom the milk had been taken would get a sore udder or she would even stop giving milk altogether. It is also believed that the cow would develop sores on her udder if the Murundi ate peas or peanuts on the day he drank milk. This taboo evidently also has dietetic reasons. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand why someone
752 with a wound on his leg or on some other part of his body is not permitted to look on while a cow is calving; it is assumed that his wounds would then grow even larger (No. 19, p. 423).

231 It is certain that the Barundi have taken over the belief
776 imported by the Batussi that especially close connections exist between cattle and the chief deity, Imana. All cattle are dedicated to Imana and are believed to be creatures "possessed" by Imana. Instead of Imana, Riangombe is also often mentioned. On the other hand it is reported that even the "devil," or Rikiranga, the most important of the evil spirits (see p. 121), is the owner of a cattle herd in the vicinity of Mujaga which includes two steers dedicated to him (Afrikabote [African Messenger], 1904, p. 123). Yet the precise extent of these religious beliefs regarding cattle is quite unknown. Finally,
576 we might mention that during the involved greetings of the
231 Barundi the phrase, "ischo-scho-amascho," that is, "cattle,
[782] cattle herd," is repeated. Van der Burgt considers this typical herdsman's greeting a kind of supplication to the main god, Imana, to grant the person greeted all kinds of good fortune which is epitomized precisely by cattle (No. 19, p. 530). In van der Burgt's opinion all salutations of the Barundi are of

231 terribly decimated since the admission of traders in 1906. Goats are not used for sacrifices.

235 Chickens (inkoko) are the only domestic fowl of the Barundi, but they are kept only in small numbers. It is possible to wander for days through the farms of central Urundi without seeing a single chicken. There are far more in Usige, in the Tanganyika area, where they are used exclusively for trade.

[439] They are sold to the Moslem Negroes of the coastal area there who like chicken and who have been very numerous since the time of the Arabs and are now numerous due to European colonization. Not only the Batussi and Bahutu but also the

[262] Batwa detest chicken meat; it is an age-old food taboo which is probably of totemic origin. The breed is the one generally found in East Africa, long-legged and mostly black. The chickens are not fed at all. They have to find their own food, and for this reason they are always thin. In most of interior

[182] Urundi and in Ruanda they are only used for sacrificial occasions and as oracles. They are sacrificed to the manes of deceased family members or to the spirits, Imana, Rikiranga, and Riangombe, in the same manner as sheep and cattle (see p. 135). Certain cocks are also dedicated to Imana (No. 19, p. 453).

[787] To consult the oracle, the chickens are killed, and the future or the uncertainties of the present are augured from the color and position of their viscera. This is done by the sorcerers or medicine men who will, of course, read the oracle as it suits them best. The Barundi regard the eating of chicken by

262 Europeans and the Moslem Negroes of the coast as abominable. They also abhor the eating of eggs, probably for totemic reasons and not because they regard [48] eggs as excrement of the chicken, as has often been claimed, sometimes even by themselves. They know quite well that the egg contains the embryo of the chicken and therefore that a person eating eggs is really eating chicken, thereby violating the food taboo.

235 Van der Burgt mentions another "superstitious" custom:
753 when a hen is found eating its own eggs or killing its chicks, the egg shells are thrown on a crossroads to prevent the hen

231 comrades. However, their fecundity is considerable; a bitch will seldom have a litter of less than eight to ten. It is generally claimed that the dogs of the natives in East Africa do not bark but only howl. This is not quite correct. As a matter of fact they do not give a short, clear bark as our house dogs do, but, on the other hand, they do not merely howl. The sounds they utter are usually a combination of both barking and howling. After an extended howling sound, two or three short barks follow, blending into one another, then another howl follows, and so forth.

There are no domestic animals in Urundi and Ruanda other than those described above.

3. Agriculture

241 In spite of the importance of cattle farming in Urundi and Ruanda, agriculture (kurima) is nevertheless the basis of economic life. Almost without exception, farming is practiced only by the [49] original settlers, the Bahutu, and by part of those Batwa who have undergone a metamorphosis. The Batussi, however, seldom help till the soil; they prefer to have the Bahutu do their work. Only the lowest and poorest class of the Batussi work in the fields. Agricultural work in this area is not merely reserved to women. Men, women, and [462] children participate equally. Only among the Batwa, the oldest element of the population, is agricultural work exclusively done by women (No. 19, p. 19). Yet the Batwa claim that they learned from the Bahutu how to cultivate the soil.

412 The only agricultural implement is the iron hoe (ischuka,
241 igembe) which has the shape of a clover leaf or of a "heart with a stem" well-known all over East Africa (see Plate 46).

As a result of its wide distribution over the entire interlacustrine [436] region, the field hoe has become the chief object of internal trade, a yardstick of value, a coin. Since the Barundi and ● [439] Batwa blacksmiths cannot satisfy the demand, many hoes are imported from Uha, Usámbiro, Uvinza, etc. The blade of the hoe is about 30 centimeters long. An iron spine bent at an

244 cucumber. They are eaten as a vegetable. Gourds with
[415] variously-shaped fruits are cultivated mainly for use as vessels.

The oil palm (ingasi), which occurs in Urundi only in
314 the interlacustrine area, is not really a plant cultivated by the
[177] Barundi but a wild tree which has been introduced from West
Africa. The Barundi use its fruit. The oil palm forest of Mtara
is approximately 12 kilometers north of Usumbura. It covers
about 800 hectares with 400,000 to 500,000 oil palms (Elaeis
guineensis). Closer to Usumbura there is a forest of 200,000
to 220,000 palms, and farther south of Usumbura, stretching
to the vicinity of Ujiji, there are other stocks of trees with
300,000 to 400,000 palms. The systematic cultivation of oil
[177] palms was first introduced to the Tanganyika area by the
Europeans, but at the present time the forests are exploited
neither by Europeans nor by the natives because they are the
chief breeding site of the fly that transmits sleeping sickness.
For this reason the forests are avoided as much as possible. The
[248] only tree incorporated into their hoe-culture, which is inimical
to the cultivation of trees, is the fig from whose bark cloth can
be made (see above, pp. 24, 31). This tree is really planted and
cared for. The oil palm, however, is only seldom planted by
the natives. After dropping from the trees, the nuts thrive easily
in the moist soil where oil palm forests usually grow. The ma-
jority of the young trees are either pulled up or cut down, and
only a few are left standing to replace old dead trees. After
cutting down the ripe fruits of the oil palm, they are first scalded
in boiling water and then pounded in a mortar until the whole
outer layer of flesh containing the oil is detached. The pounded
pap is squeezed out by hand into a wooden tub filled with water
so that the oil will float on the surface. From there it is scooped
into an earthen pot. It is marketed in smaller pots. Most of it
[439] is sold in Ujiji and in the Congo district (Uvira). The Barundi use
[252] the little oil that is left as an ingredient in some of their dishes or
[278] for frying fish, partly also as a skin lotion and as a medicine for
the wounds caused by sand fleas (No. 19, p. 291 and 411).
000 Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil

273 They usually obtain it¹ from the Bahutu by trading earthenware
 [438] which they have made, although their women are quite adept
 at brewing beer. They also buy the bananas for it from the
 Bahutu since they themselves do not own any banana groves.

[563] The Batussi and the Bahutu often drink together but never in
 company with the Batwa. The latter may not even drink by
 themselves if a Muhutu or even a Mutussi is in the vicinity.

● 439 It hardly needs to be mentioned that in a country which
 is still not opened up to trade and commerce no imported
 alcohol or European spirits can be found.

276 Also, the smoking of hashish is unknown among the
 Barundi, although it is very popular among the neighboring
 Wanjamwesi and although hemp (urumogi) grows in certain dis-
 tricts of Urundi, even far into the interior (No. 19, p. 260).
 They are acquainted neither with the chewing of betel, which
 unfortunately has been introduced to large areas of East Africa
 by the Arabs and Indians, nor with any other stimulants except
 those mentioned above.

[63]

Chapter 5

Games, Dances, Music

517 Like almost all other East African tribes, the children and
 adults of the Barundi are always ready for games (uwukini),
 dancing, and amusements. This is true above all of the Batussi
 who otherwise have nothing or little to do, but also it is true of
 the large majority of the Bahutu. Even the members of the de-
 pressed pariah class of the Batwa are ardent dancers.

857 Among the Batussi and the Bahutu many children partici-
 524 pate in the games and dances of the adults. Here, as among
 most Negro tribes, children eight or nine years old are almost
 as mature as adults. Negro children, after they pass babyhood,
 never play with the same naïve absorption and gracefulness as
 our [European] children. There is a whole series of games espe-
 cially for children and others especially for adults. "Playing
 1 [i.e., the Batwa obtain beer. — Analyst]

493 relatively long distances. These are not the comfortable, beautifully plaited carrying baskets which are in use in Ruanda for Musinga and the Batussi rulers, but in most cases they are merely two strong poles connected by crossbars which are covered with a layer of straw or a sheep skin. The traveler either lies on it or sits on it with his legs crossed under him. Old King Kisabo, who was almost blind, often traveled in this manner for several days (Plate 13a). Nevertheless, even in Urundi large, plaited wickerwork stretchers occur.

501 I have already briefly mentioned the boats (ubwato) in the chapter on fishing (p. 37). They are almost without exception dugouts. Only rarely and only in the easternmost region can one observe small bark canoes [73] which apparently are used solely for crossing the intermittent streams that appear during the rainy season in summer. During the dry season one can see them cracked open lying beside the dry stream beds. They are only used during one rainy season, and new ones have to be built each summer. They consist merely of three pieces of tree bark patched together with tree bast. One piece forms the bottom, the other two the sides. They hold no more than two persons.

Dugouts, however, are strong and durable, although technically they are extremely defective. We shall discuss the manner of their construction later, in the section on "Handicrafts" (p. 82); at this point we shall only describe how they are used and manipulated. On the rivers of central Urundi dugouts are rare, and due to the lack of large trees, they are small and poorly constructed (Plate 5b). Often they are quite crooked, so it is difficult to keep them balanced. In forest regions, as in north Urundi, on Lake Tanganyika, and on the Ruzizi River, they are of better quality, larger, and more numerous. On Lake Tanganyika, canoes 15 meters long and 1.50 meters wide are no rarity. The best are from the west [313] shore, from Uwembe, where the tall forest furnishes a supply [439] of good timber. They are sold to the Barundi for goats or pearls and are valued at about six to ten rupees.

502 vice versa. These dugouts also hug the shoreline so that it is possible to punt for the entire distance, which is faster than rowing. [74] It takes them five days to cover the distance between these two points which, measured in a straight line, are approximately 180 kilometers apart. At the present time [136] they only travel at night since the Glossina palpalis, the dreaded transmitter of sleeping sickness, swarms in many places on the lake during the daytime.

484 The provisions for such trips lasting several days are generally taken along from the point of departure. They usually consist of sweet potatoes which are simply piled on the bottom of the boat and boiled whenever the boats land at a resting place.

481 The lake dwellers learn how to swim (kuoga) when they are still children, but because of the crocodiles they do not go into the water very far. People seldom swim in the interior where the rivers have many crocodiles. The swimming stroke is the same among all East African Negroes: with one arm far outstretched, the swimmer throws himself from one side to the other, striking out with only one arm at each stroke.

2. Trade, Money, Weights and Measures

439 In the whole of Urundi, the only trade worth mentioning is in the Tanganyika district. For political reasons, the government has closed off the entire area of central Urundi to foreign trade and traffic. Only a limited number of traveling merchants are permitted. Thus, trade in this area is limited 438 chiefly to the exchange of local products among the natives. With the exception of salt, this trade is not carried on over long distances but only between neighboring communities.

443 In the Tanganyika district of Urundi markets (akaguriro) are held daily in many places due to the influence of the adjacent Congo State. In central Urundi, however, this useful institution is unknown except in the vicinity of missionary stations and at the new residency, Gitega. During the past years, however, in

443 spite of the sleeping sickness, there has been a marked increase in the number of Barundi from the interior visiting some of these markets on Lake Tanganyika and more trading trips by Tanganyika people to central Urundi to buy cattle hides and wax, which they then bring to Usumbura.

438 Among themselves the Barundi of the distant interior trade
317 field produce for other produce or for goats, sheep, hides, bark-cloth, pots, iron hoes, etc. The latter items are produced mainly by the Batwa (p. 77). The only trade object transported over a long distance is salt which is not found anywhere in Urundi itself. Formerly it was for the most part imported from adjoining Uha, but at present it is sold in much better quality by the Gottorp saltworks on the lower Malagarasi River which is under European management. It finds its way to the interior by way of Usumbura (Plate 27a).

● 439 Formerly palm oil was the main trade commodity in the Tanganyika region (p. 53), but since all traffic and trade in the Tanganyika region has been paralyzed by the terrible sleeping sickness epidemic, the oil trade, too, has decreased considerably. The smaller portion of the oil goes to central Urundi, the larger portion is absorbed by Ujiji and the west shore of the lake which is part of the Congo state. Bananas, pombe beer, butter, fish, goats, and sheep are exported both to central Urundi and to Ujiji and the eastern Congo. The Congo region sends mainly caoutchouc, a little ivory, and cattle in exchange. By far the greatest portion of trade with the Congo area is carried out by smuggling. [75] While import and export is free in the German controlled area, Congo authorities have imposed large tariffs on imports and exports. The natives, however, are very adept at circumventing them. Most of the smuggled products are brought in on paths through the swamp thickets of the Ruzizi which are very difficult to control.

439 Only wax and cattle hides are exported from central Urundi.
435 In exchange, beads and thick wire (iron, copper, brass) are the main imports, in addition to relatively little cotton material but much salt. In 1911 it was calculated that about 18,000 to 20,000 cattle hides, priced at eight rupees or the equivalent .

439 per farsalah [Arab., equal to approximately 35 British pounds],
435 were annually exported to Usumbura from central Urundi. The
wax export amounted to 500 to 700 farsalah a year at 18 to 20
rupees per farsalah. The hides are mostly those of animals who
had to be killed because of injury or sickness since only a few
animals are killed to be eaten or sacrificed (p. 45). Live cattle
are not exported at all because the Batussi owners of the cattle
are very reluctant to part with them. Furthermore, there will
not be a very good market for live cattle as long as they cannot
be transported by rail and steamer to European buyers. Another
serious obstacle to cattle export is the fact that the whole of
Urundi, with the exception of the northern part of it (adjoining
Ruanda) and the vicinity of Ujiji, is surrounded by a broad belt
inhabited by the noxious tsetse fly. Perhaps it will someday be
possible to break through this by means of railroads and special
protective arrangements.

These two local products, wax and cattle hides, form the
bulk of trade. They are exported for the most part from
Usumbura via Kigali to Bukoba or from east Urundi via Ussuwi
to Bukoba. Only a small portion is directed via Ujiji since the
journey across the country to the coast is too long and expensive.
[497] Even the Tanganyika railroad will hardly change this situation
for the time being considering the high freight rates it charges.
In 1911 a burden carrier, who carries 60 to 70 pounds and more,
482 received four to five rupees for the distance from Usumbura to
465 Kigali, eight to nine rupees for the distance from Usumbura to
Bukoba, and seven to eight rupees for the return trip from Bukoba
to Usumbura on which he does not have to carry so unwieldy a
burden as dry cattle hides. Because of sleeping sickness, the
487 trade route from Usumbura through the Ruzizi valley to Lake
Kivu is closed.

Trading activity at the markets has, of course, also been
443 affected by sleeping sickness. As recently as 1900 there were
still over a dozen well-frequented markets in a radius of three
hours distance from Usumbura. The market in Usumbura itself
had approximately 5,000 visitors daily. At present, however,
only two markets in this area are still of some importance,
Usumbura itself (Plate 27b) and Kajagga on the northern tip of

434 An elongated, violet bead, with white stripes, inganga, is more valuable: one inganga bead equals one kete of samsam beads. Still more valuable are the thick white amaguru beads; a double necklace of these is valued at 10 kete of samsam beads. In addition to these, there are, especially in the lake region, medium-sized blue beads and reddish and white ones with a lacquer-like sheen, also large spindle-shaped white beads with red circles, and others. All these types, however, do not have a fixed monetary value, [77] like those mentioned above; their exchange value fluctuates. Yellow, green, and black beads are not accepted anywhere.

435 Naturally, the available stock of beads and the law of supply and demand also determine the value of the "monetary" beads. In general, these were the rates of exchange which formerly applied in the interior: 5 bananas = 1 heller, 1 bunch of about 20 bananas = 1 kete, more than 2 double handfuls of flour = 1 kete, 1 handful of salt = 1 kete, 1 pot of beer = 3 kete, 1 iron hoe = 6 kete, 1 pot of honey = 1 ifundo, 1 goat = 3 ifundo, 1 sheep = 4 ifundo, 1 bull = 5 to 10 ingoje, 1 cow = 20 ingoje. At present, one goat costs as much as 3 to 4 rupees in the interior, and all other prices have risen proportionately.

● 439 Cotton material which was formerly strictly banned by the chiefs is now accepted eagerly in the interior. The most popular brand is the ordinary white "amerikani" of which 1 gora of 30 ells [an ell is between 55 and 80 centimeters] is valued at approximately 12 rupees in the interior. The "lesso" or "kanga," printed materials with brown patterns which are popular in Ruanda, are gradually being introduced all over Urundi.

804 The double handful (kumaschi) or, on the markets, a pumpkin shell of equal capacity is the generally accepted dry measure for flour, grain, beans, etc. Larger items, like manioc roots, sweet potatoes, bananas etc., are sold by the 804 piece. There are no domestic weights. The farsalah (35 pounds 177 Brit.) used all over East Africa since Arab times has only been

323 Once the pot is finished, it is first dried in the sun and then baked. For this purpose a large number of pots already baked are placed on the ground with their openings downward to serve as a support upon which a number of corn or sorghum stalks are placed in a crisscross fashion. The new pots are put close together on top of this. Since firewood is seldom available, [372] dry grass is piled on them and set on fire. One keeps adding dry grass until the pots are thoroughly baked. At last the finished pots are picked out of the ashes and cooled by sprinkling water on them. The pieces of ash adhering to them are not removed, however, for they are proof that the pot has [563] not been used yet; no Murundi would ever buy a used pot from a Mutwa.

323 The Barundi and especially the Batwa make earthenware
415 vessels of different shapes and for different uses (Plate 48): small elongated pitchers with narrow necks for fetching and storing water and beer; large round or thick-bellied pots with a bigger opening for cooking; basins and bowls for drinking; bulging pots with conical lids for [79] storing butter; broad funnels for pouring liquids; and, in rare instances, also vessels with two openings [276] and tobacco pipes with two bowls for votive purposes, like [782] those found in Ruanda (No. 19, p. 452, and Fig. 11; No. 48, p. 318). Large three-legged pots are made only for religious rituals (p. 127).

323 Tobacco pipes (inkono j'itabi, injungu) deserve special
276 mention, although they play only a minor role among the Barundi people who are chiefly addicted to snuff. These pipes are made only by men and are much cleaner and more delicate than the other pottery products of the Barundi. Their basic shape is the same as in Ruanda, but individually they vary in form between pointed, funnel-shaped, and almost round bowls, depending on the whim of the producer or the customer (Plate 49).

415 None of the earthenware vessels of the Barundi has a flat
323 bottom or a handle; at best there is a raised edge for gripping.
439 Thus they always have to be supported by stones or placed into a hollow in the ground or into a ring formed of straw. It is true that in the Tanganyika district one may often see vessels with handles, beaks, or feet, but these are without exception products

323 of the Wawira who live on the west shore of Lake Tanganyika
415 in the Congo State, and they have this shape only if specially
439 ordered. The simple Barundi vessels are very cheap: in
[435] Usumbura a large cooking pot is sold for one heller; in the
interior two pots cost one kete of pearls.

285 The Barundi are hardly less adept at basketry (kudsjischa)
than the Banjaruanda, but as far as patterns and decoration are
concerned, they are far inferior to the latter. Basketry may be
divided into three types: the binding technique, the weaving
technique, and the coiling technique (No. 32a, p. 42). The
binding technique is the simplest of the three. Reed stalks,
papyrus strips, tufts of grass, or rushes are arranged side by side
and then are bound together with a few transverse bast strings.
Mats, open baskets, and sieves are manufactured in this manner,
but this work is so loosely woven as to be useful only for a
limited number of purposes. In any case, there are very few
[352] mats in the interior of Urundi; even the chiefs usually sit on
the bare ground or on a hide. In some areas, however, such
[513] mats, woven with long stalks of grass, are used; people wrap
them around their naked bodies when going to sleep (No. 19,
p. 390). In the Tanganyika district there are many more mats.
It seems that they were introduced from the Congo and from
the north (Ruanda). It is remarkable that in Urundi only men
[462] weave mats, which is the case even for the Batwa, whereas in
Ruanda only women make the delicately woven ground mats,
bed screens, bed mats, wall screens, etc., which often have
beautiful patterns.

285 The weaving technique is much more widespread. It is
415 used in manufacturing baskets, plates, bags, sacks, and other
things (Plate 51). Usually two layers of thin strips of bast are
interlaced with each other at right angle, like a mesh. Depend-
ing on the material, this texture is firm and elastic or soft and
flexible, but in all cases it is closely woven. The instruments
used for this technique are a thin wooden stick which loosens
the mesh to facilitate the passage of the material and an iron
needle without an eye but with a little projection for winding
the bast string so as to pull it through. In this way they produce
large and small, round and square, tall and flat, open and

281 is treated by the method used for making chamois leather. First of all, the hide is stretched tight on the ground with pegs all around the edges. With a knife the hair and the particles of meat and fat still attached to it are scraped off carefully. When the hide is almost dry, the pegs are removed, it is rubbed with fat or butter and then beaten thoroughly, piece by piece, with both hands until it has become smooth and pliable (No. 19, p. 425). Finally the hide is rubbed with a little white residual soil (kaolin) so as to give it a nice appearance. Hides to be used as blankets are treated in the same manner, but the hair is not removed.

326 In the field of ironwork the performance of the Barundi
177 is good, even excellent. This is really surprising since reportedly the forging technique was brought to Urundi from the northeast, probably from Kissaka, at the time of King Ruganza of Ruands, i.e., approximately 200 years ago. The art was introduced, it is said, by a legendary person, Kigwe.

[4/2] Van der Burgt writes me that "before that period wooden hoes
[4/1] were used for cultivating the soil, and arrows and spears were made entirely of wood." An old Mutwa told van der Burgt that in his youth he had seen such wooden utensils himself. According to my observations such wooden hoes and weapons do not exist any more. Van der Burgt is mistaken in assuming that
195 the backwardness of the Urundi iron industry can be explained
316 by the fact that there are no iron ore deposits in Urundi (No. 19,
325 p. 250). I found excellent iron (*itschjuma*) in the form of limonite and specular iron ore in many places. On the other hand, I can confirm that the Barundi do not know how to mine and smelt these local iron ores. In Ruanda I saw smelting furnaces in full operation, but there are none in Urundi. The
326 Barundi blacksmiths only work iron imported from other areas.
[439] Some of it is imported in the form of hoes from Usindja (southern part of Lake Victoria) with the help of the Baha and Bassuwi, and some of it is European iron wire which is brought into the country by way of Lake Tanganyika. The Bahutu and Barwa blacksmiths convert this imported iron into the forms of hoes, knives, chopping knives, spear points, arrowheads, arm

325 out with the same instrument. Once on the anvil, the iron is forged with the hammer (injondo), a heavy piece of iron with several edges. It has no wooden handle but is elongated on one end to form a kind of handle so that it may be gripped firmly. The iron is hammered and intermittently made red-hot until it has been purified of all dross. Then it is forged with the hammer into the shape of the desired object. For this purpose
412 any of the following auxiliary tools are used: a thick, rounded pin over whose curved head the glowing piece of iron is hammered into concave shapes, e.g., bells, sleeves for spear points, etc.; a short pointed piece of iron with which simple patterns of dots are engraved in arm rings, chopping knives, and other objects; an old knife to cut pieces of glowing iron in two by using it like a wedge and hitting it with the hammer; a file consisting of a serrated piece of iron with a wooden handle with which any unevenness is rasped off the forged objects after they have cooled down; and finally a few hard, smooth stones for polishing.

● [439] I have not been able to ascertain whether the Barundi are familiar with wiredrawing. They use imported European types of iron, copper, or brass wire to wind around their bracelets and knife sheaths.

325 Copper (umurinda) and brass are hardly used at all in
439 Urundi, with the exception of the Tanganyika district where copper and brass have been imported from the Congo (for instance, Katanga) for years and are used for many purposes. In [316] the large interior areas of Urundi no copper ore is mined. The small amount of copper imported from Tanganyika in the form of wire is hammered out cold and used for making simple brace- [301] lets, small bells used as dangling ornaments, small pieces of foil used as inlays for the large wooden arm discs, and other things. Both in Urundi and Ruanda the casting of iron in molds is unknown.

No villages

- 361 Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped.
- [417] Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

No markets

- 443 Not only in its not having villages is Urundi different from most African countries: neither had it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.
- [577]

- 443 Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

- 535 I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumosso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other populations; as the drum remains a privilege of the *muqami* (sultan), there is no tom-tom; the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district: such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.
- [534]

Cattle-breeding and agriculture

- 224 Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little importance to the country's life: for the Batutsi, it is a mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.
- 226

- 231 The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

484 purchase the skins of black and white colobus /monkeys/ (inkomo) which
825 are used to make the court outfit (inkindi) so dear to the court pages
(intore).

648 For a long time the Hamites of Ruanda maintained good neighborly relations with the more humble kings of the Karagwe and Uswi, with whom they exchanged courtesies.

The same did not apply to Urundi, which forms the southern and southeastern border of Ruanda. In spite of their common origins and language, the two lands were frequently at war. Urundi, however, often served as an asylum for people banished from Ruanda.

439 The Banyarwanda /Banyaruanda/ never stopped trading with the Congo tribes, who supplied them with hoes and rings of vegetable
[30] fiber /23/ called ubutega which are worn by the women around their legs as ornaments (1).

1. Whether black women dress sumptuously or niggardily, they all show a great love of ornaments (Maurice Delafosse).

This fiber is taken from a small tree (intunda) which grows only in Masisi territory. Its purchase gives rise to constant comings and goings between that territory and Ruanda. The bark of yet another plant called isiha is used to make rings of lesser quality which are not as much in demand.

436 Butega are looked upon as ornaments and riches, and they are
651 used as currency. The Banyarwanda, lake-shore dwellers and neighbors of Masisi, were assessed in butega as taxpayers. Every year each clan had to supply several thousand to the queen mother, who used them for herself, her /female/ attendants, and her slaves.

301 It is not unusual to meet Batutsi ladies wearing hundreds of
[48] rings around their legs. These ornaments are piled on each other up to the knees, and lend their wearers a slow and very ungraceful gait.

552 A wealthy woman's wardrobe includes several thousand butega.
[69] Their purchase occasions indebtedness which frequently gives rise to lengthy lawsuits and disputes.

322 The tools used for this work are the ax (Figs. 29, 30), the
412 bush knife (Fig. 31), the percussion drill, the hollow hatchet in
various sizes with diagonal cutting edges, and the rasp for scrap-
ing the interior and surface of objects.

325 Metal Industry. The two types of metalwork in Ruanda
316 are the ordinary blacksmith's art and wire drawing. Iron mining
439 is of no importance; the inhabitants are dependent almost en-
tirely on imported metal. Iron is imported from Busindja and
from the Congo state in the form of hoes. I saw a few abandoned
mines on Mount Ndisa, and there is some iron in Kissaka. Dr.
Kandt (1) even reports a blast furnace with 16 bellows. Bgisha

1. Ibid., p. 360.

is said to be considerably richer in iron, but it seems to me that
it chiefly mediates the importation of Congo iron.

326 The smiths form a sort of guild in Nduga. They are all
Bahutu, but they belong to different clans even though their occu-
pation is generally hereditary.

Smiths are very much feared throughout the country, al-
though one cannot deny that their trade is regarded with a certain
scorn. Among the Bahutu the smiths enjoy their wealth because
of an undeniable influence. Women, for example, seem to re-
gard smiths as great cavaliers and men of the world who always
drink beer to excess. In general, however, they are regarded as
restless spirits and eternal rebels, nor are they especially praised
for their honesty. In view of this, they are carefully watched at
their work when, as is usually the case, they are furnished with
raw materials by the customers. It is said that they filch iron
whenever they can and have a very bad reputation in this respect.

[847] Aside from their regular trade, the smiths also practice
gynecology, and they are noted for their skill in performing abor-
tions. They also play a prominent part in the cult. The head of
the royal smiths is said to have a high position and to play an im-
portant role in court ceremonies.

435

Elephant's tusk	up to 100 goats.
Goat	two to four hoes.
Sheep	two to three hoes.
Young bull	eight to eleven hoes.
Calf	two to five hoes.
Young cow	15 to 20 goats or two bulls: one the same size as the cow, the other somewhat larger.

439

Trade. In considering trade in Ruanda we must make a sharp distinction between trade in hides and other forms of trading.

In the cattle-rich lands of the African interior the trade in hides takes on the character of pure export, indeed of piracy. Imported [162] European and Indian cotton goods, glass beads, brass and copper wire, and other consumer goods are paid for in hides.

[168]

The government has forbidden traders to cross the borders of Ruanda and Urundi because it was afraid that livestock might be decimated due to the relatively high prices of skins. Smugglers who were caught had to forfeit their wares and, temporarily, their freedom, but despite the risk, native traders, lured by the great profits, came from Karagwe to Kissaka to buy skins. These they sold to Indian shopkeepers in Kafuro.

South of Lake Mohasi I met a trading caravan of ten men. They drove a few cows and goats, and on their heads they carried rolls of hides. They carried a passport from Bukoba to Kafuro and continued their journey at their own risk. They talked a great deal about the high prices they paid for the livestock, in order to clear themselves of any suspicion that they had stolen them. They said they had paid ten doti Amerikani for one bull and one doti for a goat.

Near the Nsasa Mission there is a Muganda trader who has been there so long that he is a permanent resident.

Smuggling must be rather extensive, since all the Batutsi were dressed in cotton. It is not probable that this material came primarily from the military and trading stations on Lake Kivu (Kisenyi and Ischangi).

● 439 Aside from trade in hides, there is an old, respectable foreign trade. Iron hoes are imported from the Congo state and salt from Lake Edward. These are paid for chiefly in goats. Goats are also used to pay for ivory and rubber smuggled out of the Congo.

438 Internal trade consists above all in the exchange of local products between producer and consumer. Barter is carried on in food, iron, clay products, sheep and goats, salt, etc.

The people of Issawi get their salt from Njaruguru. It is brought there from Urundi. They buy their hoes in Mukinjaga. This province does not manufacture them; they are imported from Bunyabungu. The northern provinces get their iron from Bgisha and their salt from Katana on Lake Edward where salt from Kagwe is sold in large quantities. Salt is also prepared within the country, in Mulera, and, according to Dr. Kandt (1), in a

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 513.

southern bay of Lake Kivu. I do not know whether Busindja salt (2)

[113]

2. Capus, R. P., "Eine Missionsreise nach Uha and Urundi [A Missionary Journey to Uha and Urundi,]." Petermanns Mitteilungen 1898, p. 185.

which is obtained in Kigoma west of [163] Mumurumba on the southern border of Ujungu, reaches Ruanda.

Copper is imported in small amounts from Urundi and in larger amounts from Busindja in payment for ivory. Goats are exported from Mulera, Kissaka, and Njaruguru. Sheep are exported from Mulera. Mukinjaga produces the prettiest mats. The colored mats of the Batutsi are made in Nduga. Bamboo baskets are made in Bwischascha, Bugoye, and Mulera. Ndorwa exports otter skins. The most beautiful spears and the best arrows are made at Mount Ndisa. All these goods are also traded within the country.

438
484 This trade is conducted by native middlemen who, in contrast to foreign traders (bachuruzi), are known as bagenza. They

487 4. The route from Nduga, via Mulera and Ufumbiro, to
438 Katana is the salt route; along which salt is transported south and
sheep and goats north. From Lukara's settlement on the
Muhawura, traders without packs reach Katana in four days and
return, laden with salt, in six days.

• [439] 5. A branch of the latter route runs from Nduga to Bugoye,
Kishari, and Lake Edward, and this is the way salt is imported
from Lake Edward and iron from the Congo state.

6. Another route, important for iron hoes, is that running
from Kishari to Bugoye, Mulera, and Ruweruka, from which the
route between Bugoye and Kissaka branches off. The bridge of
the Ruasa Mission is a very convenient spot from which to observe
traffic with Ruweruka.

7. The Ruzizi route connecting Kisenyi and Ischangi with
Tanganyika (Usumbura) is of greatest importance for contraband
goods from the Congo state. In this roundabout way ivory and
rubber reach Tabora and the railway.

[170]

Chapter 8

Clothing, Ornaments, and Weapons

171 Clothing. In the clothing, ornaments, and weapons of
291 Ruanda a mixture of the style peculiar to the Forest Bantu and
301 characteristic elements from the eastern steppes is evident. Thus,
411 we find both barkcloth and skins used for clothing, anklets made
of grass along with wire spirals, and East African round bows with
strings made of tendons beside composite bows with strings of bam-
boo strips. The East African elements are predominant and more
apparent, the western elements more or less in the background.
The material culture faithfully reflects historical events, and this
can be substantiated with anthropological evidence.

291 In view of this, we can easily understand why skins are of
prime importance in the clothing of the Banyaruanda. Barkcloth
which they are unable to prepare as well as in Kiziba or in
Buganda, for example, is of secondary importance. In his ceremonial

291 On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of
 [854] cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their
 [484] backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already
 for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists
 or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with
 large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The
 Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other
 flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore
 them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders
 coming from the east where they bought them from Arab mer-
 chants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short
 loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

• [439] 302 Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few
 tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant
 pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had
 their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu
 [301] and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in
 white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments.
 304 There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening
 of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went
 [291] barefooted.

592 The dwelling unit was a compound (*ruko*) consisting of at
 361 least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular en-
 closure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures
 of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the
 349 interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a
 [111] 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c.
 857 were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls
 513 under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special
 hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut
 343 devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus
 346 hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined
 circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the
 351 compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds
 of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it
 was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures,
 there was only one narrow communication with the outside world.

[231] The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a
 361 kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the
 year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

22 THE PREMISE OF INEQUALITY IN RUANDA

000
361
644 Ruanda. The exception was the place where the royal court happened to be established. At the end of the nineteenth century the most permanent site was Nyanza, which was and still is regarded as the capital. One or two thousand people lived there, but Nyanza was not a village or a town. It was rather the great homestead of the king surrounded by the small temporary dwellings occupied by the different chiefs when they came to the court to pay a more or less long and obligatory visit to their sovereign. The king had other residences throughout the country where he stayed regularly.

443 Markets do not appear to have been numerous in Ruanda before the European occupation. Goods were exchanged mainly through [437] other channels; the tribute of subject, dues of clients, gifts from [439] the lords, &c. At all events the few markets where goods from abroad, such as rock-salt coming from the Lake Edward region, were exchanged, did not become centres of villages as in many other parts of Africa.

5. HEALTH

121 The general health of a people is as significant a part of the background of their culture and social institutions as are physical environment or demography. We can only conjecture about the [174] situation before Europeans came, but there is some evidence.

146 The health of a group of people depends partly on their diet. The present day diet is lacking in animal proteins, vegetable fats (containing vitamins A, D, and E), and green vegetables.³⁰ We have no reason to believe that there was a higher consumption of meat fifty years ago, or that there were oleaginous plants growing which have disappeared and that the habit of eating green vegetables has been lost. According to nutritionists, these shortcomings cannot be compensated by a consumption, however abundant, of carbohydrates, a high percentage of which is to be found in maize, sorghum, peas, and beans. Also, if a fairly adequate consumption of the latter foodstuffs is possible now (in the sense that the total annual yield for the country is sufficient for the total number of people), it is not to be assumed that the total production was as high fifty years ago as it is now. On the contrary, the figures we [183] have indicate that fifty years ago, the production of maize, sorghum, peas, and beans was much lower than today.

³⁰ Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 56; Cloos, 1955.